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Quote, Unquote

News Summary: Page A3

"I've lost the spirit to continue. The atmosphere became impossible. Quite literally, no one in the department spoke to me all year."
Carolyn G. Heilbrun, on her decision to leave Columbia U. after 32 years: A13

"In France, Italy, and the U.K., women's studies have nothing of the presence they have in the United States. They are a beleaguered minority."
A professor of social science: A1

"Nature has a marvelous imagination when it comes to constructing molecules, much more so than a lot of chemists do."
A professor of medicinal chemistry, on the anti-cancer drug taxol: A8

"Does the vote follow the money or does the money follow the vote?"
A political-science professor, on contributions to lawmakers: A19

"A lot of people say they don't want to relocate, and they won't take a job for less than $30,000 a year or take a job in sales. They are just limiting themselves. I learned that, in this economy, you have to be very flexible."
A senior at Temple U., on today's job market: A28

"Today's young adults were not raised by Ozzie and Harriet."
The president of Connecticut College, on the end of the generational cold war: B3

"If college recruitment now resembles the marketing tactics of department stores, the world of student financial aid on many campuses appears to be almost indistinguishable from an automotive showroom."
A professor of education: B1

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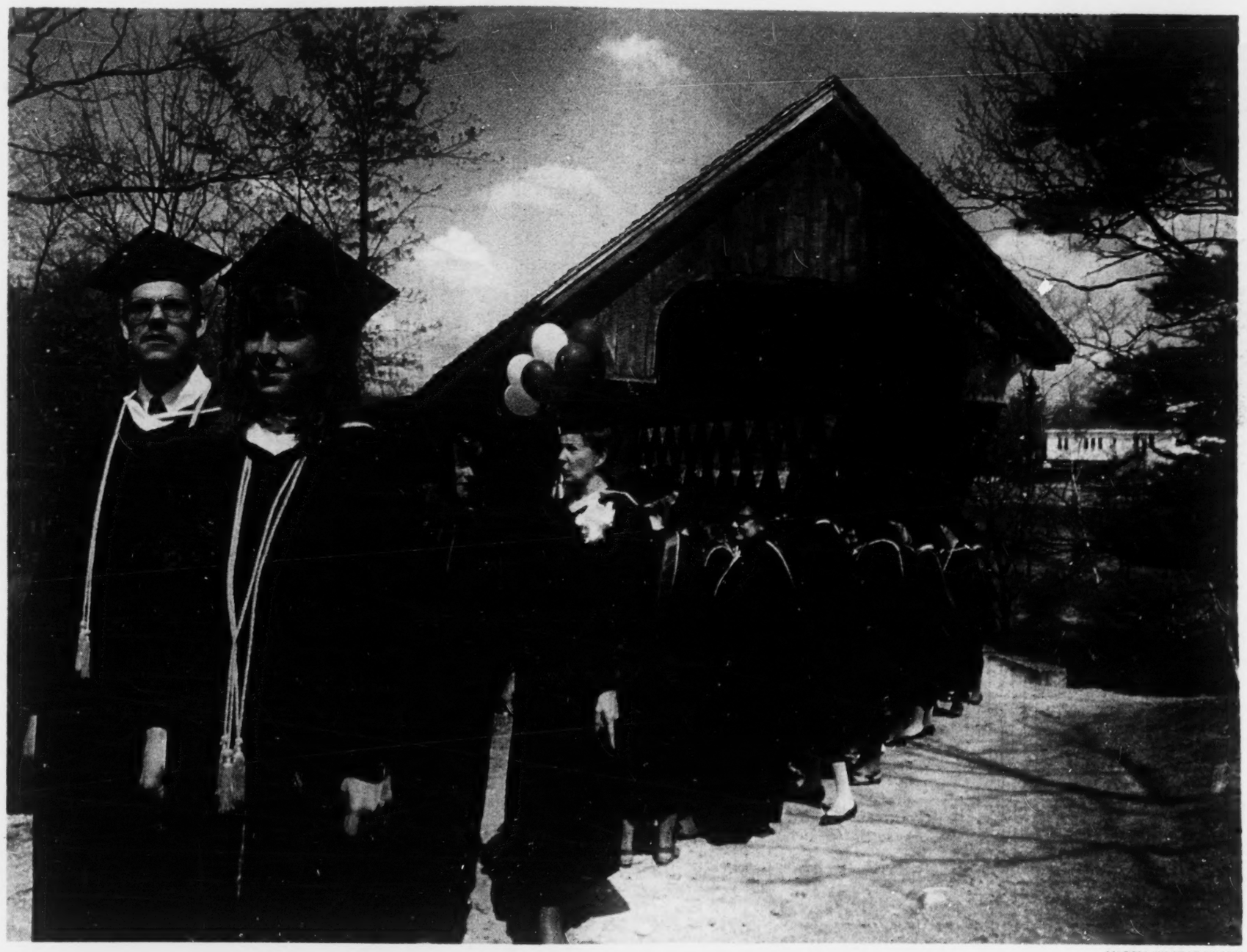


MARCIA MACRAE CURTIS

A Graduation Tradition at New England College

The covered bridge that spans the Contoocook River on the New England College campus was the first to be constructed by a college. This year, the institution's 219 seniors gathered on the bridge before marching to the commencement ceremony.

Looking at Lives of Ordinary People, 75 Scholars in Europe and North America Collaborate on a Vast History of Women

By LIZ McMILLEN

The writers and editors working on *A History of Women* knew it would be an unusual scholarly venture when the Italian publisher of the series invited all 75 of them to Paris to map out the contents of each volume.

Meeting for two days at the Centre Culturel Italien, the scholars—most of them from France but others from Britain, Canada, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and the United States—hashed out the details for each of the five volumes in the series: How exactly does one write a history of women? How much attention should be paid to issues of race and ethnicity? To sexuality? What should be the general scholarly approach weaving together hundreds of years of history?

Inspired by Encyclopedic Tradition

Beginning with the ancient period and ending with contemporary times, *A History of Women* may be the most ambitious published work in women's history. Inspired by a European encyclopedic tradition, the series builds on 20 years of scholarship in history, women's studies, anthropology, and other disciplines in the United States and Europe. More than 70 historians have contributed essays on a wide range of topics including family life, work, literature and the arts, myths and images, and the writing of history about women.

The first volume, *From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, was released last month by Harvard University Press, which is publishing the English edition of the series. Several of the volumes have already been published in Italy by Laterza and in France by Plon, where the series has been hailed as a cultural sensation, prompting discussion groups, seminars, and a television program. Harvard plans to release the next volume, which covers the medieval age, in the fall, and the other three over the following year and a half.

A History of Women follows a successful series also published by Harvard, *A History of Private Life*. Like that series, the women's-history books are aimed at academic readers as well as the general public.

While much of the history written about women in the United States has been in the form of monographs and essays, *A History of Women* shows the handiwork of its general editors, Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, in its sweeping scope and its orientation to what the French call the *longue durée*, or time conceived on a vast scale.

Far from being a portrait gallery of famous or exceptional women, the books attempt a history from "the bottom up"—that is, a history that has as its central focus the lives of ordinary women. "Our task is to understand their place in society, their 'condition,' the roles they played and the powers they possessed, their silence, their speech, and their deeds," Ms. Perrot and Mr. Duby have written. "It is the variety of representations of women—as gods, madonnas, witches, and so on—that we hope to capture, in its permanence as well as in its many transformations."

Positive Reviews

Whether or not the books live up to the editors' goals has yet to be determined. Although the works have received positive reviews in Europe, most American scholars have not had a chance to see the English editions. Still, several historians familiar with the work of the editors say the books will be important.

"The work in this nation has tended to-

Continued on Page A10

MARGINALIA

Memo from North Park College:

"In a news release titled *North Park Spring Festival Celebrates Centennial*, and dated April 10, 1992, a typo appeared:

"Incorrect: 'Guests can gamble amidst the tents.'

"Should be changed to 'Guests can *amble*.'

"Please change your copy to read 'amble.' We apologize for any inconvenience and confusion this may have caused you."

No problem. We'll just cancel our airline reservation.

■

That reminds us of a statement by Neil Grabois, the president of Colgate University, in *The Colgate Maroon-News* the other day:

"I think that we've had a core program, General Education program, since the 20's, and it's one of the longest running crap games around."

■

Note in a brochure from the Campus Life Office at Converse College:

"The Associate Dean of Students serves as the coordinator of judicial programs. . . .

"In keeping with the educational mission of the college, the focus of the judicial system is not punitive. The goal is to promote respect for the safety, rights, honor, and dignity of others, and to encourage inappropriate actions."

And what could be more educational than *that?*

■

From *Maneater*, a student paper at the University of Missouri at Columbia:

"In the aftermath of what was seen as an environmental atrocity on Forum Boulevard in southern Columbia, city government is now protecting trees.

"The Land Preservation Ordinance, enacted by the City Council in September and amended in March, is aimed at curbing the further destruction of the city's trees. . . .

"The ordinance only protects trees that are at least four and one-half feet off the ground."

So much for preservation.

■

From *The Chronicle:*

"A classics professor holds conversations entirely in Latin with a colleague at Purdue University. The professor plans to converse in Greek as soon as the network can transmit the Cyrillic alphabet."

Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.

■

From *Almanac*, a newsletter at the University of Pennsylvania:

"The Big Bang theory has been the leading model to explain the origins of the university since the 1960s."

So *that's* how it started. —C.G.

In Brief

Catholic leaders decry choice of speakers

NOTRE DAME, IND.—The issue of abortion turned graduation at two Catholic institutions into controversial events.

According to a spokesman at the University of Notre Dame, New York Cardinal John J. O'Connor and Boston Cardinal Bernard Law wrote to Notre Dame's president, the Rev. Edward A. Malloy, to express their disapproval of the institution's plan to honor New York's Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The Senator supports a woman's right to choose an abortion. Nonetheless, Notre Dame honored Senator Moynihan last week with the university's oldest and most prestigious award for American Catholics, the Laetare Medal.

Lynn Yeakel, Pennsylvania's Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate and a proponent of abortion rights, was Rosemont College's commencement speaker. Philadelphia Cardinal Anthony J. Bevilacqua expressed his "sincere dismay and disappointment" of the choice to Rosemont's president, Ofelia Garcia.

University officials defended their choices of Senator Moynihan and Ms. Yeakel. ■

Campus exhibits paintings by convicted killer

MILWAUKEE—An art exhibit at the University of Wisconsin's campus here featuring the work of a convicted murderer, Lawrencia Bembenek, has been called exploitative.

Members of the local art community say the exhibit—which includes Ms. Bembenek's painting, "Godot's Drawing Room" (*above*) —is inappropriate for a university and was chosen simply to draw attention to the gallery.

Ms. Bembenek, a former model for *Playboy* and a former Milwaukee police officer, was given a life sentence for the 1981 murder of her then-husband's ex-wife. She escaped from a Wisconsin prison in 1990 but was captured shortly after and was returned to the prison last month.

E. Michael Flanagan, director of the university art museum, said art historians on the Wisconsin faculty had recommended the exhibit because of their interest in the work of incarcerated artists. ■

Students market own brand of wine

KEUKA PARK, N.Y.—A group of students at Keuka College have gone into business marketing their own vintages of wine—Keuka College White, a mix of Ravat, Seyval, and Riesling grapes, and a drier Chardonnay, made of 100-per-cent Chardonnay grapes.

The students, all at least 21 years old, are members of the Management Club, a college organization for those seeking entrepreneurial experience. As interns at nearby Keuka Springs Winery, the students created the wine and developed marketing strategies. They will charge $6.50 per bottle for the Keuka College White and $10 per bottle for the Chardonnay.

Below, Brad Allen, a senior, introduces a bottle of the students' wine to Mary Butterfield Congdon, a 1941 graduate, at an alumni reunion. ■

CYNTHIA COOPER

RICK MALOOF

Sports to sprouts

SALISBURY, MD. — Salisbury State University should have a bumper crop of vegetables after turning a planned athletic field into a "victory garden."

The university had to shelve a plan to build four new intramural fields on the nine-acre parcel after state budget reductions forced officials to cut nearly $2-million from the university's budget. Joseph K. Gilbert, the university's vice-president for administration, suggested planting flowers and vegetables on the parcel to boost spirits at the campus. So far, staff members and students have planted 26 plots. ■

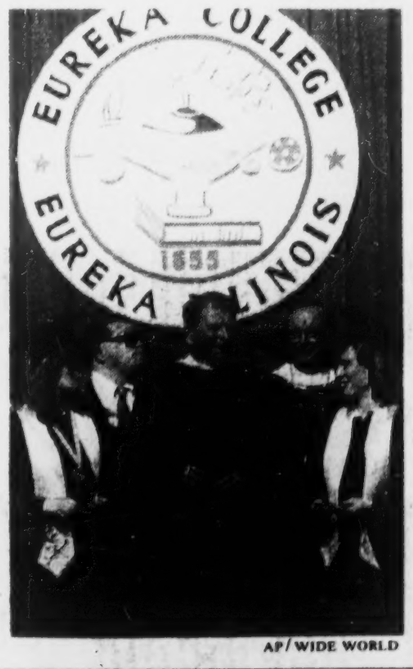
Wesleyan trustees vote to maintain aid policy

MIDDLETOWN, CONN.—The board of trustees of Wesleyan University has voted unanimously to preserve the institution's need-blind admission policy for the next five years. The decision came after a year of vocal protests by students, who objected to a proposal by President William M. Chace to allow the admission office to consider students' ability to pay when admitting applicants from the waiting list. To save the institution money, the trustees also approved the elimination—through attrition—of 15 tenured faculty positions. ■

Ronald Reagan returns to alma mater

EUREKA, ILL.—Ronald Reagan returned this month to his alma mater, Eureka College, to deliver the institution's 133rd commencement address. Mr. Reagan, who graduated from the college in 1932, encouraged the students to become involved in their communities after graduation.

A freshman at Eureka College who had twice threatened to kill Mr. Reagan was arrested by U.S. Secret Service agents before the speech. Jim Elm was charged with threatening to kill a former President, a felony that carries a sentence of up to three years in prison and a $250,000 fine. ■



AP/WIDE WORLD

Professor who forged diploma is fired

TAMPA, FLA. — An assistant professor of surgery at the University of South Florida has been forced to resign after administrators learned that he had forged his own master's-degree diploma.

Stephen G. Kovacs admitted that he had substituted the word "master's" on his bachelor-of-science diploma from the University of Alabama. Mr. Kovacs's résumé also listed the fake degree.

While he worked at the university, Mr. Kovacs earned a reputation as an inventor of innovative medical devices. He created one of the world's smallest heart-assist pumps and developed a polyurethane polymer called vivathane for use in artificial blood vessels and breast implants. The university holds three patents on devices Mr. Kovacs developed. He helped sell the inventions to biomedical companies. ■

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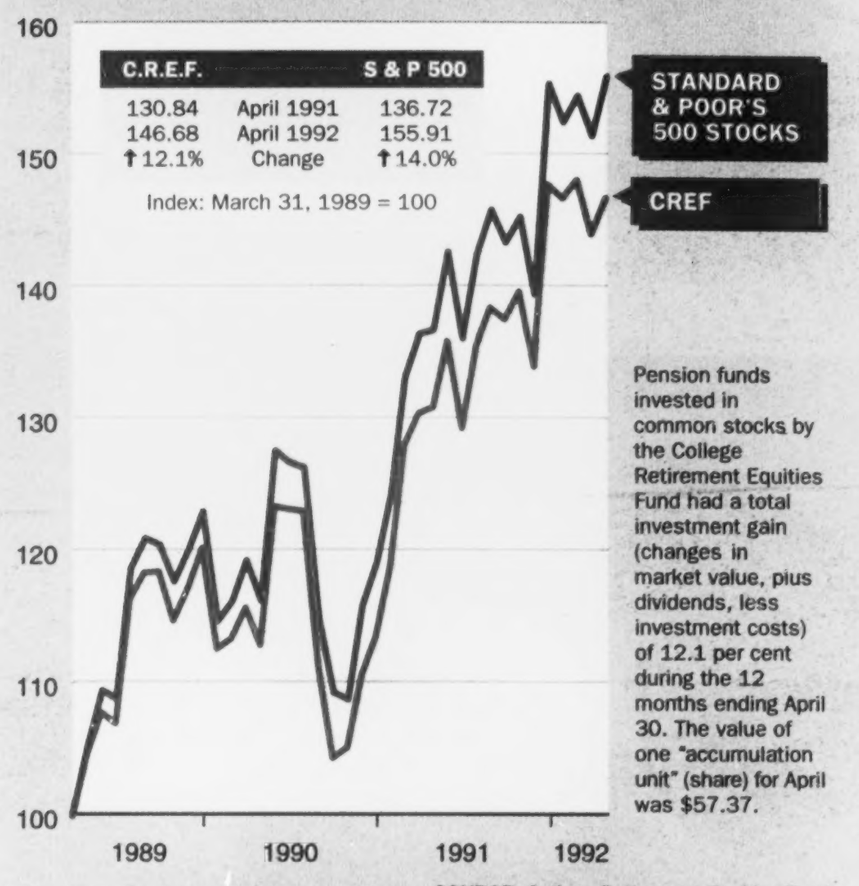
Trends and Indicators

Pension Money in the Stock Market



Pension funds invested in common stocks by the College Retirement Equities Fund had a total investment gain (changes in market value, plus dividends, less investment costs) of 12.1 per cent during the 12 months ending April 30. The value of one "accumulation unit" (share) for April was $57.37.

SOURCE: College Retirement Equities Fund

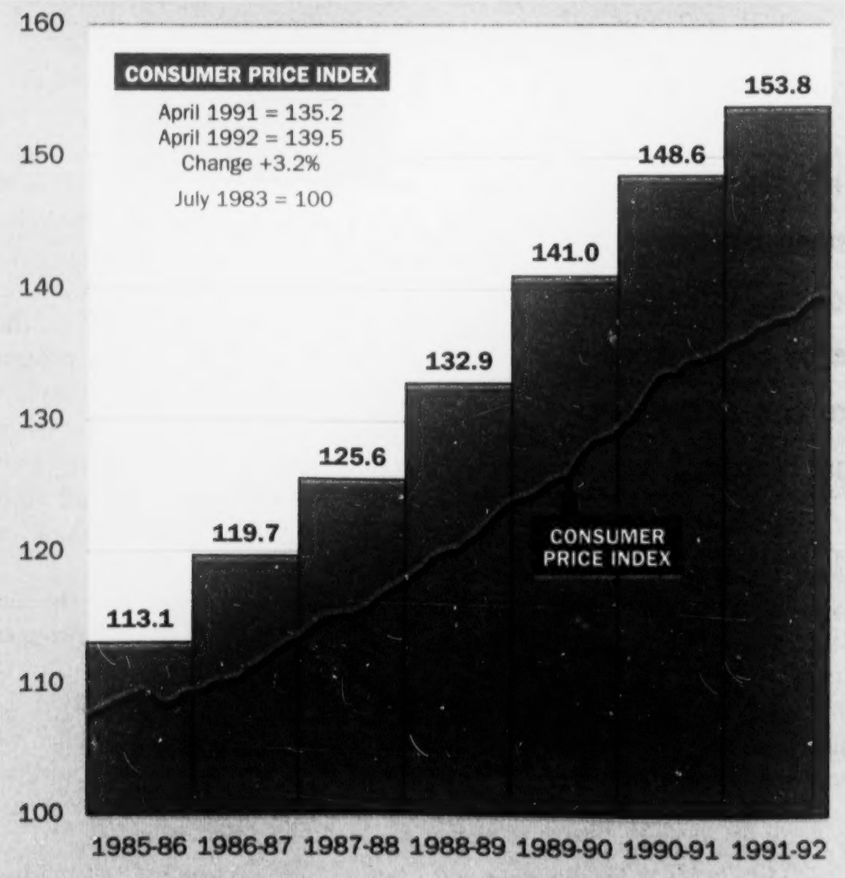
Spending on Major Fringe Benefits for Full-Time Faculty Members, 1991-92

	All institutions	Public	Private Independent	Private church-related
Retirement				
Proportion with benefit	97.2%	99.2%	92.0%	93.3%
Average spending per faculty member	$4,423	$4,585	$4,660	$3,088
Medical insurance				
Proportion with benefit	97.1%	98.8%	93.7%	92.7%
Average spending per faculty member	$2,813	$2,901	$2,830	$2,249
Dental insurance				
Proportion with benefit	33.9%	35.6%	33.4%	25.2%
Average spending per faculty member	$334	$357	$286	$241
Group life insurance				
Proportion with benefit	82.9%	77.5%	91.9%	100.0%
Average spending per faculty member	$181	$176	$219	$151
Tuition for children				
Proportion with benefit	10.5%	8.2%	16.7%	14.5%
Average spending per faculty member	$3,301	$1,179	$5,864	$5,842

Note: Data are based on reports from 2,072 institutions

SOURCE: American Association of University Professors

Faculty Pay and the Cost of Living



SOURCES: American Association of University Professors, U.S. Department of Labor

A Battle Over Academic Freedom Grows More Bitter at Lees College

Continued From Preceding Page

the report, which he did not release, said the institution had not violated academic freedom. "But we knew that all along," he said.

Mr. Bradshaw explained the turmoil by saying: "People have the impression they're going to really like this type of atmosphere. Then they get here and find their personality doesn't meet the special needs of a small church-related college with a mission."

Hefty Turnover in 4 Years

Lees appears to have had trouble attracting professors who meet those needs. Professors said at least 130 faculty and staff members had come and gone since Mr. Bradshaw took over in 1988. Administrators disputed that figure, but would not provide their own.

Some professors said Mr. Bradshaw had initially enjoyed widespread support from the college's two dozen professors and nearly 40 staff members. But changes he made in the college's tenure and personnel policies and in the faculty handbook quickly eroded that support, the professors said.

The faculty has twice voted no confidence in Mr. Bradshaw since 1991. Many professors said the president and his wife, Betty June, who held an unpaid job of acting dean of students, ran the campus as a fiefdom.

Professors have criticized Mr. Bradshaw for abolishing tenure. A few retain the status of tenure, but not its benefits. They complain that contrary to widely followed guidelines set forth by the AAUP, all professors work under one-year contracts, so tenure is meaningless.

Mr. Bradshaw retains the support of the 22-member Board of Trustees, which in December offered him a 10-year contract and last year increased his compensation to $82,437 from $58,000, according to professors who reviewed the college's tax forms.

Professors also are disturbed by the accrediting team's draft report, which the president told professors referred to "dissident faculty" who had a concept of academic freedom "enlarged well beyond its meaning" in the accrediting standards. Lees officials issued a press release under the heading, "Lees College Receives Stamp of Approval from Accreditation Agency."

James T. Rogers, executive director of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, called the college's action "highly irregular," and said it might have violated the spirit of the association's disclosure policy. He said he planned to look into the president's use of the visiting team's report to gain positive publicity.

Mr. Bradshaw said he had complied with all accrediting standards. ■

Feminist Literary Critic Quits Columbia

Continued From Preceding Page

the vote—evenly split—on Ms. Winnett's case to an administrator, but the vote was allowed to stand.

Mr. Kastan said the decision on Ms. Winnett was not a matter of hostility to feminist scholarship. "Anytime somebody comes up for tenure at a major research university without a book in print, you're very vulnerable," he said.

Other tenured women in the department agreed that Columbia, in general, has a mediocre record of supporting female professors and feminist work, in part because it is an Ivy League school that first admitted female students in 1984. But they were more optimistic about the English department's recent efforts.

"We're coming out of a very bad situation, when for a long time we had very few women," said Ann Douglas, a professor in the department since 1974.

"Over that time," she added, "Carolyn has [felt] beleaguered, rightly, but she's closed herself off from the progress made in the department."

Ms. Heilbrun's graduate students may have been caught in the crossfire. Only one of the master's-degree students she supported was admitted into the doctoral program for next year, and a large number of students in her graduate seminar on gender and modernism also didn't get in. Several said they would appeal, arguing that Ms. Heilbrun's evaluations had been given short shrift in the admissions process.

Especially Competitive

David Damrosch, who headed the graduate-admissions committee, said the pool was especially competitive this year and that many students exploring feminist themes had been admitted. He said the recommendations of scholars who wrote lengthy evaluations of their students' work weighed more heavily than those who wrote short reviews, as he said Ms. Heilbrun had done in some cases. ■

NEW BOOKS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

It may be necessary to add state tax to the cost of books listed below. Discounts may be available to scholars and to people who order in bulk.

Administration as a Profession (New Directions for Higher Education No. 76), edited by Jonathan D. Fife and Lester F. Goodchild (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome Street, San Francisco 94104; 124 pages; $14.95 prepaid). Contains essays on the history, goals, curricula, student demography, and organization of higher-education administration programs in schools of education; also discusses other settings for training.

Effective AIDS Education on Campus (New Directions for Student Services No. 57), edited by Richard P. Keeling (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome Street, San Francisco 94104; 113 pages; $14.95 prepaid). Discusses the goals, evaluation, and improvement of AIDS-education and sexual-health promotion programs on campuses; includes separate chapters on recommendations for women, gay men, and members of minority groups.

Light on the Hill: A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, by William D. Snider (University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515; 370 pages; $24.95, plus $3 for shipping). Traces the institution's history since its founding in 1795.

The University of Kansas Medical Center: A Pictorial History, by Lawrence H. Larsen and Nancy J. Hulston (University Press of Kansas, 2501 West 15th Street, Lawrence, Kan. 66049; 222 pages; 222 pages; $35, plus $2.50 for shipping). Contains 385 photographs, with accompanying text, that document the school's history since its founding in 1905.

Women in Science and Engineering: Increasing Their Numbers in the 1990's: A Statement on Policy and Strategy (National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 20418; 152 pages; $20 prepaid). A report from the Committee on Women in Science and Engineering, a group in the Office of Scientific and Engineering Personnel of the National Research Council.

BORDER

CROSSINGS

Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education

Henry Giroux

"***Border Crossings*** is an enormously powerful and important book by one of the most intense and brilliant thinkers of our times. It is also an eminently accessible book and, in its interweaving of popular culture, contemporary politics, and moral vision, the writing speaks to a broad audience. Giroux has written heretofore chiefly as an educator. This time, he is speaking as a public citizen in the great tradition of American dissenters. I have always admired Giroux and profited greatly from his work; but this is certainly his most important and searching book. It ought to be read widely." — Jonathan Kozol, author of *Savage Inequalities*

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Government & Politics

Ways & Means

Wisconsin's Gov. Tommy Thompson, a Republican, has signed into law the state's 1992-93 budget act, including a provision that allows applicants for jobs at the University of Wisconsin to choose whether their names will be made public.

After several media organizations challenged the university's practice of not releasing the names of candidates for athletics-department jobs, the university agreed last year, in an out-of-court settlement, to make the names of job applicants public for a three-year period. Under the agreement, a change in state law could take precedence over the settlement.

The Governor agreed with university officials that disclosure of applicants' names could discourage prospective candidates from applying because it might jeopardize their current jobs.

Said Judith Ward, acting vice-president of university relations: "Opening the process puts us at a competitive disadvantage with other universities and private employers who do not disclose names."

Dave A. Zweifel, president of the state's Freedom of Information Council and editor of *The Capital Times*, said he was disappointed by the new law. Under the old system, he said, "the public gains the knowledge of who the individual is, and they gain the opportunity to make their feelings known about the candidate."

He added that open searches "take the process out of the realm of the 'old-boy network' that has existed for too long."

■

"The Star Spangled Banner" and the Pledge of Allegiance should be as much a part of the graduation ritual as "Pomp and Circumstance," says the New York State Senate.

The Senate passed a bill this month to require the recitation of the pledge and the playing of the national anthem at all graduation ceremonies at colleges in the State University of New York System.

Sponsors of the measure, which was first introduced several years ago but never voted upon, said the bill had been prompted by complaints from some families of SUNY graduates.

"It's been our experience that some parents come away feeling kind of empty when there's no display of patriotism," said an aide to State Sen. Owen H. Johnson, a sponsor of the bill.

The aide said the bill did not cover the City University of New York because legislators had not received any complaints about ceremonies there.

A spokesman for SUNY said he believed most campuses already play the national anthem at graduations. He also said each campus determines the format of its own graduation, and that it was unlikely the Senate vote would change that, since the bill is unlikely to come up for a vote in the State Assembly.

STEVE WOIT FOR THE CHRONICLE

Frank J. Sorauf, a political-science professor at the U. of Minnesota: "Does the vote follow the money or does the money follow the vote?"

SAM KITTNER FOR THE CHRONICLE

Thomas A. Butts, a lobbyist for the U. of Michigan: Contributions from professors and administrators cannot compete with banks' funds.

Banks and Trade Schools Increase Their Campaign Gifts as Congress Reauthorizes the Higher-Education Act

By THOMAS J. DeLOUGHRY

WASHINGTON

Trade-school officials and banking interests increased their campaign contributions to members of Congress as the lawmakers were debating—and rejecting—proposals that could be detrimental to both industries.

The Chronicle reviewed the Federal Election Commission records of political-action committees controlled by the eight largest student-loan lenders and three banking associations. The review found that the PACs together contributed $1.55-million in 1991 and the first three months of 1992, the period in which Congress was debating proposals to reauthorize the Higher Education Act. The 15-month total almost equals the 24-month total during the last reauthorization in 1985-86, when the PACs contributed $1.89-million.

The stepped-up donations came as Congress debated proposals to replace federally insured bank loans to students with direct federal loans.

Tighter Restrictions Considered

Trade-school PACs continued to contribute generously to lawmakers, spending more than $342,000 from January 1985 to March of this year. They donated $69,800 from January 1991 to March 1992, which is more than the $58,550 they contributed in all of 1985 and 1986. The contributions came as lawmakers weighed tighter restrictions on aid to the schools and as the number of schools declined because of a crackdown on student-loan defaults.

In addition to the PAC records, *The Chronicle* reviewed personal contributions to the 14 members of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and the Humanities and the five top Democrats and five top Republicans on the 27-member House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. In all but a few cases, giving by college officials lagged well behind contributions from trade-school officials and from bankers.

For example in the 15-month period:

■ Trade-school officials donated $10,350 to Rep. William D. Ford, a Michigan Democrat who is running for a 15th term. Mr. Ford heads the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education and the full Education and Labor Committee. College officials and lobbyists contributed $6,450 to Mr. Ford, whose campaign received a total of $251,005 from all sources.

■ Bankers contributed $34,781 to Sen. Dan Coats, an Indiana Republican, seeking election to his first full term after replacing Dan Quayle in 1989. College officials donated $2,482 to the campaign, which received a total of $1.8-million from all sources. Many of the bankers were employed by Indiana National Bank, which ranks 10th among makers of federally guaranteed student loans. Many of those affiliated with colleges were medical doctors.

■ Among the largest contributors with an interest in higher-education policy were employees of Williams & Jensen, a Washington law firm, who contributed $9,750 to members of the House and Senate subcommittees. The firm represents the Student Loan Marketing Association, the largest buyer of student loans, and the Bank of America, the third-largest maker of student loans.

The Chronicle's review probably under-

Continued on Following Page

Overlap Group Documents Indicate Colleges Questioned the Effectiveness of Aid Awards

By SCOTT JASCHIK

Documents released by the Justice Department indicate that members of the Overlap Group, which in the last three years have collectively spent millions of dollars in legal fees defending their activities, harbored doubts about whether the group actually helped students or institutions.

According to the documents, financial-aid officials at some institutions believed that the Overlap process resulted in students' receiving aid awards that were too small. Some aid officials at Overlap colleges and universities linked the small size of Overlap awards to the difficulty that minority students face in enrolling in the Ivy League.

Other documents indicate that Overlap participation may have hurt the colleges themselves—by placing the institutions in the position of frequently offering less-generous aid packages than non-Overlap institutions.

Even as the documents raise more questions about the Overlap Group's effectiveness, however, some members continue to seek a way for the group to return to its practice of meeting annually to compare the aid packages offered to students admitted to more than one of their institutions. The goal of those meetings, which were attended by officials of the 23 elite private colleges that make up the group, was to arrive at a common determination of student financial need.

Members of the group have been under investigation by the Justice Department for three years. Antitrust charges against one member, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will be heard in Federal District Court in Philadelphia next month. The eight Ivy League institutions, which

Continued on Page A22

Banks and Trade Schools Increase Giving to Congressional Campaigns

Continued From Preceding Page
estimates the contributions from individuals because many donors did not list their occupations or employers as is required. Under federal law, individuals are allowed to donate $1,000 for each election and PACs are limited to $5,000. Primaries are considered separate elections.

Lawmakers generally deny that campaign contributors have any influence over the way they view policy matters. Thomas R. Wolanin, an aide who has worked with Representative Ford on the higher-education bill, said campaign contributors get no special favors. "It's not something that registers on the radar screen," he said.

"It comes as no surprise that people who are opposed to direct loans have been following all legitimate options available to them."

Advocates for tighter restrictions on student aid at for-profit trade schools contend that donations from school owners and PACs have kept lawmakers from developing tougher rules to curb abuses in that sector of higher education.

The review of election records found that the Career College Association's PAC contributed $42,950 to candidates in the 15-month period and that the Association of Independent Colleges and Schools donated $25,050 in 1991 before it merged with the career-college group. The National Association of Accredited Cosmetology Schools made one $300 contribution, and DeVry Inc., a chain of for-profit colleges, contributed $1,500 in the 15-month period.

Early in the reauthorization process, discussion of establishing separate aid programs for trade-school students was squelched by Mr. Ford and Sen. Claiborne Pell, the Rhode Island Democrat who heads the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and the Humanities. Both argued that it would be elitist to apply one set of rules to colleges and another to trade schools.

The election records showed that in addition to the $10,350 from trade-school owners, Mr. Ford received $8,350 from trade-school PACs in 1991-92. Mr. Pell raised very little money in the past year, but his 1989-90 re-election campaign took in $13,455 from trade-school officials and $22,000 from their PACs.

A 'Fundamental Difference'

Some college officials who believe that the government should have different aid programs for trade-school students say the political contributions are further proof that the schools' approach differs from that of colleges. The officials charge that profit-minded school owners make contributions to preserve their prime source of revenue, while university officials are generally non-political and invest their institutions' funds in aid for students.

"It's just another fundamental difference," said Robert G. Bottoms, president of DePauw University. "It is a very effective lobbying organization with lots of money behind it."

Sharon Thomas-Parrott, vice-president for governmental relations at DeVry Institutes, rejects such charges and plays down the importance of the company's political-action committee. DeVry does not buy access to lawmakers, she said, but rewards those who support higher education and for-profit education, in particular.

"Our record in graduating students and providing access to underrepresented students has been much more the reason why we've been listened to," Ms. Thomas-Parrott said.

Some student-aid analysts and college officials who favor replacing guaranteed loans with direct loans made by the government through a college or trade school blame the banking lobby for helping to scuttle such proposals. Many college officials also oppose the plans because they fear the arrangements would increase their administrative burdens.

The Senate declined to include a direct-loan plan in its reauthorization bill. The House of Representatives included only a pilot project in its bill. The fate of the proposal will be decided in a conference of delegates from both chambers.

Thomas A. Butts, a lobbyist for the University of Michigan who pushed hard for direct loans, said he was not surprised by the amount of money that banking interests had contributed. "It comes as no surprise that people who are opposed to direct loans have been following all legitimate options available to them," he said.

No Guarantees

Mr. Butts said meager contributions from college professors, administrators, and lobbyists could not compete with the banking funds. "Unlike some other committees, where you have various interests offsetting one another, Education and Labor only has essentially the lending industry," he said. "There's simply no balance there."

Those who have studied political contributions say that banks have given more in recent years for a number of reasons. "Student loans are a pretty small part of their agenda," said Larry T. Makinson, director of research for the Center for Responsive Politics, a non-partisan group that studies the role of money in politics. "The biggest thing on their plate is bank deregulation."

But he said that having so much money floating around Capitol Hill helps the banks when they are fighting proposals like direct student loans. "That stuff comes in handy," he said.

Others argue, though, that political contributions do not guarantee that votes will favor the contributor. Frank J. Sorauf, a political-science professor on the Twin Cities campus of the University of Minnesota, said banks had lost several recent battles in Congress despite their contributions.

Mr. Sorauf, author of *Inside Campaign Finance* (Yale University Press, 1992), also said it was often impossible to determine whether contributors such as bankers or trade-school officials were buying votes or rewarding lawmakers who already agree with them on issues. "Does the vote follow the money or does the money follow the vote?" he asked.

Support for Pell in 1989-90

The PAC controlled by Chase Manhattan—the second largest maker of student loans—contributed $108,563 to lawmakers in 1991 and the first quarter of 1992. It donated $77,785 in 1985-86. The Consumer Bankers Association, a trade group active on student-loan issues, and the Bank of America have also surpassed 1985-86 levels.

The nation's largest banking PAC—administered by the American Banking Association—doled out $686,000 to 268 campaigns in the 15 months that ended in March. In 1985-86, it gave $929,000 to 372 candidates.

More important, the association already has given more to members of the House postsecondary-education subcommittee than it did in 1985-86. Sixteen members of the 27-member panel received a total of $29,050 from the group this time, compared with $16,850 for 13 members of the 23-member subcommittee in 1985-86.

Chris Rieck, an association spokesman, said it was not attempting to influence student-loan policy. "There's really no way to make that connection between our PAC contributions and that subcommittee," he said. He said the group had contributed to candidates who had supported bankers' views in the past.

Among members of the Senate education subcommittee, those receiving the most money were the three running for re-election this year: Senator Coats; Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut; and Sen. Barbara A. Mi-

Contributions by Trade-School PACs: January 1991–March 1992

Presidential Candidate	
Tom Harkin, D-Iowa	$500
Senate	
Brock Adams, D-Washington	$4,000
Alan J. Dixon, D-Illinois	250
Christopher J. Dodd, D-Connecticut	1,000
Tom Harkin, D-Iowa	1,000
Ernest F. Hollings, D-South Carolina	1,000
John F. Seymour, R-California	1,000
Paul Simon, D-Illinois	100
Arlen Specter, R-Pennsylvania	2,500
Harris L. Wofford, D-Pennsylvania	1,000
House	
Michael A. Andrews, D-Texas	$500
Richard K. Armey, R-Texas	1,000
William Lacy Clay, D-Missouri	500
E. Thomas Coleman, R-Missouri	7,050
Randy (Duke) Cunningham, R-California	725
Bernard J. Dwyer, D-New Jersey	250
Mickey Edwards, R-Oklahoma	500
Harris W. Fawell, R-Illinois	500
William D. Ford, D-Michigan	8,350
Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pennsylvania	2,000
Richard A. Gephardt, D-Missouri	5,500
Steven C. Gunderson, R-Wisconsin	2,300
Charles A. Hayes, D-Illinois	200
Steny H. Hoyer, D-Maryland	$1,000
Dale E. Kildee, D-Michigan	2,750
Scott L. Klug, R-Wisconsin	300
Joseph M. McDade, R-Pennsylvania	1,000
George Miller, D-California	500
Susan K. Molinari, R-New York	1,650
David R. Obey, D-Wisconsin	1,000
Major R. Owens, D-New York	625
Ed Pastor, D-Arizona	500
Christopher C. Perkins, D-Kentucky	2,000
Thomas E. Petri, R-Wisconsin	900
Carl D. Pursell, R-Michigan	1,000
John F. Reed, D-Rhode Island	1,350
John Jacob Rhodes, III, R-Arizona	5,000
Gloria Gonzales Roemer *	500
Timothy J. Roemer, D-Indiana	500
Marge Roukema, R-New Jersey	1,000
Thomas C. Sawyer, D-Ohio	1,000
Patricia Schroeder, D-Colorado	500
Jose E. Serrano, D-New York	500
Louis Stokes, D-Ohio	1,000
Jolene Unsoeld, D-Washington	1,000
Peter J. Visclosky, D-Indiana	500
Vincent J. Weber, R-Minnesota	500
Pat Williams, D-Montana	1,500
Total	**$69,800**

* Colorado Republican candidate **SOURCE:** Chronicle Reporting

Contributions to Some Members of Congress Involved in Higher-Education Issues: January 1991–March 1992

	Total contributions	College officials, lobbyists	Students	Teacher union PACs	Trade-school officials	Trade-school PACs	Bankers, banks
House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education							
E. Thomas Coleman R-Missouri †	$214,122	$2,975	$ 0	$ 0	$2,250	$7,050	$15,725
William D. Ford, chairman D-Michigan †	251,005	6,450	0	15,000	10,350	8,350	7,750
Joseph M. Gaydos D-Pennsylvania ‡	46,650	0	0	0	1,000	2,000	800
William F. Goodling R-Pennsylvania †	29,670	0	0	0	0	0	100
Charles A. Hayes D-Illinois §	81,014	0	0	2,500	0	200	500
Scott L. Klug R-Wisconsin †	326,661	2,711	973	0	35	300	13,612
George Miller D-California †	307,340	0	0	4,150	0	500	1,500
Susan K. Molinari R-New York †	185,391	0	0	500	0	1,650	8,700
Thomas E. Petri R-Wisconsin †	85,212	0	0	0	0	900	1,670
Pat Williams * D-Montana †	383,601	4,385	481	19,750	750	1,500	2,860
Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and the Humanities							
Dan Coats R-Indiana †	$1,794,000	$2,482	$75	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$54,697
Christopher J. Dodd D-Connecticut †	1,839,000	5,989	0	5,000	750	1,000	44,750
Barbara A. Mikulski D-Maryland †	1,545,000	8,650	0	4,000	0	0	10,425

* Received $588 from 37 people who said they were associated with a college, but did not report whether they were students or staff members.
† seeking re-election
‡ not seeking re-election
§ defeated in Democratic primary

SOURCE: Chronicle Reporting